How the System Ghetto-ized Black People in Chicago

Leonard Peltier Demands Urgent Medical Care

On the Road to Corcoran: A Living Hell in California's Prisons

Cleveland: FBI Persecution of Pro-Choice Activists
New York City vs. MYM Resisters

On November 17, a New York grand jury handed down indictments against six people for the police attack on the Million Youth March (MYM). The grand jury was called at the prompting of Mayor Safir, and it has been "investigating" for over two months. These indictments are one more outrage in a series of groups and individuals that the police are investigating for their opposition to this system. The charge against them is the lowest level misdemeanor, but this SWAT team sealed off the entire neighborhood. They bashed into Shahed's apartment and threatened people in Sista's Place, a cafe associated with the December 12th Movement. Now the grand jury has brought charges against six Black women. Shahed Muhammad is the only person actually named in the indictment. The other five are identified as "Green Shirt," "Yellow Shirt," etc. One is charged with following at a distance and reckless endangerment, the other five with misdemeanor assault. The way these charges are framed gives the police a green light to go snooping for information—including by encouraging snitches—and to harass anyone who "fixes the system." As we go to press, there is a report that one person has been arrested as one of the "John Does" and will be arraigned on November 30.

Michael Warren, attorney for the MYM, said: "Our intention is not to criminalize the MYM. The actions out there were exhibited by the police officers and their bosses—Howard Safir and Mayor Giuliani—who both admitted that they were responsible for what the police did. If [Manhattan DA] Robert Morgenthau had any principles at all, he would indict them for their acts. Accordingly, based on their actions as prosecutors." Victims of the police attack at the MYM held a press conference to announce that the grand jury indictments were announced. These victims, who were pepper-sprayed, maced, beaten, and threatened, called out the police and said that they are filing a complaint against the police for violating the Civilian Complaints Board. This Civilian Complaints Board came out of protests against police surveillance in the 1970s. It prohibits cops from routine

regime must be prevented from killing Chairman Gonzalo through the death penalty or by other means.

Fujimori has repeatedly claimed that Chairman Gonzalo has made a call for negotiations from prison. In situations that would possibly allow this, Fujimori now offers for continuing to deny Comrade Gonzalo independent contact with lawyers, doctors and friendly visitors from outside prison in a way that meets the requirements of the international standards for treatment of political prisoners and prisoners of war? It is vitally important for people in Peru and around the world to help prevent Chairman Gonzalo's view from being isolated and deprived of all contact. This heightens the urgency of the fight to create an international political climate which compels the Peruvian government to grant access to Comrade Gonzalo by his legal representatives and other friends who can meet and talk directly with him.

Support the People's War in Peru!

Support the Communist Party of Peru!

Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo,

Fight to Break the Isolation!

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Leonard Peltier Demands Urgent Medical Care

Federal prison authorities are continuing to deny Native American political prisoner Leonard Peltier treatment for a potentially life-threatening health problem. Since 1996, Leonard has had something seriously wrong with his jaw. He is unable to open and close his mouth. He has a half-inch gap between his teeth through which he eats. He cannot chew his food and is in excruciating pain. Leonard recently told a supporter that the pain is unbearable.

One of Leonard Peltier's attorneys, Ramsey Clark, reports that because Leonard can't open his mouth he can't receive treatment for two abscessed teeth. If left untreated, the infection from these teeth could spread through his bloodstream and become life-threatening. Prison medical authorities at the Springfield Federal Medical Center claimed Leonard had cancer and gave him jaw surgery twice and high doses of radiation.

A press release issued by the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee describes the "unofficial" by a prison official that he was in pain and would be treated. But months went by and no action was taken. So Leonard Peltier filed a lawsuit against the prison for "cruel and unusual punishment." On October 14 the prison dismissed the lawsuit—on the outrageous grounds that "medical neglect or malpractice does not constitute cruel and unusual punishment." Leonard's defense committee has called for lawyers to step forward to take up this aspect of his case before the statute of limitations on the lawsuit runs out.

In the early 1970s, Leonard Peltier joined the American Indian Movement (AIM)—an organization which brought revolutionary anti-system politics to the masses and linked up with the youth and older, more traditional people on the reservations. In 1972, people on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Indian reservations in South Dakota rose up against government repression and attacks on the people. Hundreds took over the buildings at Wounded Knee. They were blocked by GOONS, U.S. Marshals, FBI SWAT teams, troops, BIA officials, armored vehicles, and sharpshooters. Firefights went on for over 70 days and brought AIM's struggle world-wide attention and support.

After a negotiated "settlement," FBI agents flooded the area. These agents proceeded over a death-squad campaign. In the three years after the occupation of Wounded Knee, more than 60 AIM supporters died violently on or near the Pine Ridge reservation. On July 26, 1975, a firefight occurred in an AIM encampment. Two FBI agents were killed. Three men were charged with the murder. Two were acquitted by an all white jury. A 1976 FBI memo then called for directing full prosecutive weight of the federal government against Leonard Peltier.

Witnesses were intimidated and evidence was fabricated. Leonard was found guilty and sentenced to two life terms. All of Leonard's appeals have been denied. Four years ago, he petitioned for clemency and was denied. The Leonard Peltier Defense Committee has asked that people contact the following officials to demand Leonard be granted clemency and freed. They have also issued a new poster titled "The Indian Wars Are Not Over" with a picture of Leonard and a list of 55 people who were murdered by the authorities on Pine Ridge. Across the bottom is the slogan "Free Leonard Peltier and All Political Prisoners!" To order posters or get more information about Leonard's case, contact the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, P.O. Box 585, Lawrence, Kansas 66044. Phone: 785-842-5790; Fax: 785-842-5790; E-mail: lpdc@idir.ncL (For more information about Leonard's case also see RW #9808.)

The Leonard Peltier Defense Committee has asked that people contact the following officials to demand Leonard be granted medical treatment and his prison privileges be reinstated: Ms. Kathleen Hawk, Director, Bureau of Prisons, 230 First Street, Washington, DC 20534; FAX: 202-514-6878; Warden Booker, Leavenworth Federal Prison, PO Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048, 913-682-8700. To demand clemency, contact US Pardon Atorney Roger C. Adams, 500 First Street N.W. Suite 400, Reston, VA 20191; E-mail: lpdc@idir.ncL (For more information about Leonard's case also see RW #9808.)

Leonard Peltier has maintained his innocence for 23 years. He has also refused to back away from his political beliefs and instead has done what he can to speak out about the injustices against Native people and others from whatever prison he's been held in.

The Leonard Peltier Defense Committee is calling for civil disobedience and protest around the world on December 19 to demand that Leonard be granted clemency and freed. They have also issued a new poster titled "The Indian Wars Are Not Over" with a picture of Leonard and a list of 55 people who were murdered by the authorities on Pine Ridge. Across the bottom is the slogan "Free Leonard Peltier and All Political Prisoners!" To order posters or get more information about Leonard's case, contact the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, P.O. Box 585, Lawrence, Kansas 66044. Phone: 785-842-5790; Fax: 785-842-5790; E-mail: lpdc@idir.ncL (For more information about Leonard's case also see RW #9808.)

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On October 23, 1998, Dr. Barnett Slepian, a doctor committed to providing abortions as part of offering all-around reproductive health care for women, was brutally murdered by an anti-abortion assassin in his Amherst, N.Y. home. A day later, 250 people attended a pro-choice vigil at the FBI offices in nearby Buffalo.

Robert Stauber and Michael "Malikee" Gingerich—well-known and respected activists in the Cleveland area who have been involved for years in the struggle for reproductive rights and part of the movement to suppress the political and legal pressure on abortion providers and workers, joined the vigil with a beautiful statement from Robert Stauber: "We Won't Go Back, Defend the Right to Abortion!" Little did these two men know at the time that, almost a month later, they would be targeted and pursued by the FBI. They would become the targets of nationwide FBI searches. That the authorities would imply they were possibly linked to the murder of Dr. Slepian, that they would be abandoned in the Canadian U.S. press.

What follows is not fiction. It is a real life story of how the FBI is "investigating" the murder of Dr. Slepian. It is a story that shows once again that nothing good can come from the involvement of government agencies like the FBI in solving the problems of the people.

On October 24, after mistakenly thinking the vigil for Dr. Slepian was in the doctor's home, Gingerich and Stauber encountered some police in the vicinity of the doctor's house. At this point on, the local authorities have been aware that Gingerich and Stauber had been involved in pro-choice activities. The press reports indicate that the FBI has known this as well. The New York Times reported on November 22 that: "Moskal [an FBI agent] said the two men apparently showed up at Slepian's house the day after his death. They were trying to attend a prayer vigil for Slepian but had been sent to his house by mistake, and a police officer on duty took their names, Moskal said."

On November 21, Gingerich and Stauber became aware that their names had gone out in a nationwide FBI bulletin. According to the New York Times, this bulletin was issued by the FBI on Thursday, November 19. The Canadian Press Service in the United States indicated that they were trying on November 20 and on Saturday, November 21 to pick out two activists who support abortion rights. The FBI bulletin indicated that they were possibly linked to the murder of Dr. Slepian.

The FBI issued this bulletin in spite of the fact that they already had a lot of information indicating that Gingerich and Stauber were pro-choice activists and not at all likely suspects in the murder of Dr. Slepian. Before the FBI issued their bulletin they had confirmed, through interviews, that Gingerich and Stauber were pro-choice activists.

The American Federation of Teachers had confirmed, through interviews, that Gingerich and Stauber were pro-choice activists and not at all likely suspects in the murder of Dr. Slepian. It was reported that the FBI bulletin indicated that they were possibly linked to the murder of Dr. Slepian, and that Gingerich and Stauber were pro-choice activists. According to the FBI bulletin, the murder of Dr. Slepian was not in fact a murder but rather a "omiciding" of a doctor who was being sought by the FBI.

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South Africa

Mzwakhe Mbuli: Rebel Voice Behind Bars

“My underpants pulled down
My private parts exposed
Is this a ‘New South Africa”?
Is this the ‘Rainbow Nation’?
My body and my conscience
Are filled with fear and hate
My soul yearns to speak
My spirit cannot be broken.”

Mzwakhe believes he was set up because he was planning to announce government corruption, arms smuggling and drug trafficking. He had contacted local Security authorities and was scheduled to see Mandela himself when he was arrested. The tale of his arrest smacks of political intrigue and the methods of the South African political police.

On October 28, 1997, Mzwakhe received an anonymous phone call. The caller claimed to have information about a 1996 attempt on his life—which left Mzwakhe’s car riddled with bullets—after Mzwakhe protested government corruption. The police never discovered the shooters, and Mzwakhe publicly condemned them for this. The October 1997 phone call, promising information on his would-be assassins, hand Mzwakhe to Pretoria. There he was handed an envelope which was supposed to contain the names of the assassins. But Mzwakhe was quickly jumped by police, who searched his apartment and found $5,600 Rand which they claimed was stolen from a nearby bank. Mzwakhe was arrested and police confiscated a gun he claims protect himself—along with evidence in the robbery.

At 6:44, Mzwakhe is recognized as his famous— an unlikely candidate for committing a bank robbery which netted less than $4,600. As a best-selling recording artist, he regularly gets $3-4,000 per performance, and before his arrest he had just banked a check for $100,000 for a music album by Mzwakhe’s—and the spoken word—was outlawed.

Mzwakhe’s trial in June was a travesty of justice—entrenched in the courts which tried and convicted Steven Biko and many opponents of the apartheid regime. None of the key witnesses could identify Mzwakhe, and the bank security cameras were conveniently not activated the day of the robbery. Witnesses recanted testimony—and said he had been bribed by police. And one of the arresting officers committed suicide just before the court date. Delays by the court, day after day, led to a rescheduling of the trial until January 1999. And Mzwakhe remained in prison.

In maximum Security Mzwakhe was put in a cell on Death Row, 50 steps from the galley. Shiring his cell was Janus Walsh—the admittance medical for Hani. Hani was head of the ANC military wing and a close personal friend of Mzwakhe’s— whose funeral oration for Hani is featured on Resistance Is Defiance. In April 1997 Mzwakhe led a hunger strike, calling for exhumation of visitors’ rights and he was moved from maximum security. “Peacefully, I share my cell with 64 other prisoners with only one toilet.” Mzwakhe told Sheila Nopper. “We use a bucket of water to flush.” The prison is constantly overcrowded, and defendants need more than 1,000 visitors, and each time he appears, the courtroom is packed with supporters and fans. His case is being considered for investigation by Amnesty International. In a full-page birthday greeting published in the Mail and Guardian, dub poet Benjamin Zephaniah wrote, “I truly believe that a nation can be judged on how it treats its poets.”

“I am vulgar proof no regime can take away my dignity.”

My resilience is beyond malicious abuse.
My spirit cannot be broken.
My intelligence is beyond humiliation.
My soul yearns to speak.
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At 6:44, Mzwakhe is recognized as his famous— an unlikely candidate for committing a bank robbery which netted less than $4,600. As a best-selling recording artist, he regularly gets $3-4,000 per performance, and before his arrest he had just banked a check for $100,000 for a music album by Mzwakhe’s—and the spoken word—was outlawed.

Mzwakhe’s trial in June was a travesty of justice—entrenched in the courts which tried and convicted Steven Biko and many opponents of the apartheid regime. None of the key witnesses could identify Mzwakhe, and the bank security cameras were conveniently not activated the day of the robbery. Witnesses recanted testimony—and said he had been bribed by police. And one of the arresting officers committed suicide just before the court date. Delays by the court, day after day, led to a rescheduling of the trial until January 1999. And Mzwakhe remained in prison.

In maximum Security Mzwakhe was put in a cell on Death Row, 50 steps from the galley. Shiring his cell was Janus Walsh—the admittance medical for Hani. Hani was head of the ANC military wing and a close personal friend of Mzwakhe’s— whose funeral oration for Hani is featured on Resistance Is Defiance. In April 1997 Mzwakhe led a hunger strike, calling for exhumation of visitors’ rights and he was moved from maximum security. “Peacefully, I share my cell with 64 other prisoners with only one toilet.” Mzwakhe told Sheila Nopper. “We use a bucket of water to flush.” The prison is constantly overcrowded, and defendants need more than 1,000 visitors, and each time he appears, the courtroom is packed with supporters and fans. His case is being considered for investigation by Amnesty International. In a full-page birthday greeting published in the Mail and Guardian, dub poet Benjamin Zephaniah wrote, “I truly believe that a nation can be judged on how it treats its poets.”

“I am vulgar proof no regime can take away my dignity.”

My resilience is beyond malicious abuse.
My spirit cannot be broken.
My intelligence is beyond humiliation.
My soul yearns to speak.
My voice is beyond silence.
My spirit cannot be broken.”
On the Road to Corcoran
A Living Hell in California's Prisons

The RW received the following report from a correspondent in the San Francisco Bay Area:

On October 17, hundreds of people from all over California converged on Corcoran Prison in the state's largely agricultural central valley. Prison rights activists, family members of prisoners, former prisoners, relatives of those who have died at San Quentin and the county jail, police and prison guards, attorneys, health care professionals and revolutionaries organized by various groups joined in from diverse parts of the state, stopping at prisons along the way. The caravan, sponsored by California Prison Focus, Coalition for Women Prisoners, Families to Amend California's Three Strikes, and others was the first protest ever held at Corcoran Prison—which has become notorious for nightmarish brutality by the guards. Conditions at Corcoran Prison are by no means unique and the participants in the caravan are determined to stop the abuse of men and women in the prison system.

As the car 1 was in wound its way from the Fillmore Free Streets gymnasium to a stop at the huge prison complex for women in Chowchilla, we passed through cotton fields and I thought about how, after the U.S. Civil War, former slave states passed the Fugitive Slave Act. The law said that certain acts like "misleading" or "interfering" were crimes if committed "in aid of... fugitive Negroes". Mississippi's Fugitive Slave Act was passed in 1850. Mississippi's Fugitive Slave Act was passed in 1850, and it lived for more than a few more years. Slave owners or other contractors who paid for their "freed Negro's" or other human misery were not deterred.

Companies, coal mines, plantation owners and the like, the conditions for a leased convict were so brutal that they rarely lived for more than a few years. The conditions for a leased convict were so brutal that they rarely lived for more than a few years. The prison nationwide has more than quadrupled increased in the last decade alone. The conditions for a leased convict were so brutal that they rarely lived for more than a few years. The prison nationwide has more than quadrupled increased in the last decade alone.

The prisoners in California are Black, and 1998 there was an eight-fold increase in the number of people in prison—growing from 19,000 to 159,000. Over 70 percent of the prisoners in California are Black, Latino, and/or of another oppressed nationality. This is an increase of 200 percent in the number of people in prison—growing from 19,000 to 159,000. Over 70 percent of the prisoners in California are Black, Latino, and/or of another oppressed nationality.

As you travel down the highway that runs 400 miles between Sacramento, the state capital, and Los Angeles, you are never more than 50 miles from one of California's prisons—Folsom, Mule Creek, Vacaville, San Diego, Tracy, Corcoran, Solano, Coalinga, Avenal, Corcoran, Delaware, Yorker, Tehachapi, Lancaster. The California Department of Corrections now runs 33 prisons, 23 of which have opened since 1984. Each of these comes to house thousands of our sisters and brothers.

Seventy-eight percent of the women in California's prisons are there for drug property and other non-violent offenses. Many women are compelled to commit the offenses that land them in prison by the increasingly desperate economic situation into which they have become trapped. These include attacks on ATFC and other benefits. One woman prisoner told the Center for Juvenile and Criminal Justice, "When I received a child support check, I was told by the social worker that I must pay the money to the child's father, or I'd be imprisoned for one year."

Women in California prisons face inhumane health care and sexual abuse by guards. In 1995, 24 women prisoners, many with life-threatening illnesses, filed a suit against California Governor Pete Wilson and the Department of Corrections charging them with systemic denial of necessary medical care. Clarisse Shumate, the lead plaintiff in the lawsuit, suffers from sickle cell anemia and was denied medical care forcing her to go into repeated hospital emergency. The case was settled in 1997 and the state promised to improve the medical care given to woman prisoners.

Sexual abuse of women in state prisons across the U.S. is widespread and condoned by the guards. Women are routinely watch women using showers or toilets. Women prisoners receive their showers are constructed so that n^e guards have an unobstructed view of the women who are showering. Women prisoners receive their consistent showers and are given a list of things I was to wear so I wouldn't have to wear the large metal chains that were common.

Conditions are even worse for women in the Security Housing Unit (SHU) at VSP if a woman needs to go to the doctor during an exercise period she must use a toilet that is directly below a guard tower that is usually staffed by a male guard. Women prisoners are prostected from covering the windows to their cells for short periods of time while they change clothes. Male guards routinely watch women using showers or toilets.

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When I talk with my kids they have no idea what my life is like. It's very frustrating because I didn't get nesting. I would go to a store and open a package to get diapers. Many women are also in prison for the abuse of husbands or boyfriends. It is estimated that in California alone there are 600 women in prison for killing an abuser in self-defense.

As the demonstration got ready to leave, some women were seen walking across the prison yard and people shouted out our love to our sisters on the other side of the barbed wire fence. As the demonstration got ready to leave, some women were seen walking across the prison yard and people shouted out our love to our sisters on the other side of the barbed wire fence.

As Cynthia Martin spoke at Chowchilla, a woman prisoner told the director of the California Department of Corrections asking for an investigation of the women's charges. As the caravan passed along the road that separates the two women's prisons in Chowchilla a woman prisoner told the director of the California Department of Corrections asking for an investigation of the women's charges.

Women prisoners at Chowchilla received Inadequate medical care. In recent months both California Prison Focus and Amnesty International received letters from women prisoners in the SHU (Security Housing Units) at Valley State changing an increase in sexual harassment and constant verbal harassment must be stopped." The program director of Amnesty International's America Regional Program wrote a letter to the Director of the California Department of Corrections asking for an investigation of the women's charges. As the caravan passed along the road that separates the two women's prisons in Chowchilla a woman prisoner told the director of the California Department of Corrections asking for an investigation of the women's charges.

Some women who had been in the prison in Chowchilla stepped up to speak. "I left this prison three years ago after spending 14 months inside of it," said a woman named Dana. "For one year I was in the Security Housing Unit (SHU) at Valley State. When I was in the SHU I was continually given the list of things I was to wear so I wouldn't have to wear the large metal chains that were common. wealthiest prison in the world.

Some women who had been in the prison in Chowchilla stepped up to speak. "I left this prison three years ago after spending 14 months inside of it," said a woman named Dana. "For one year I was in the Security Housing Unit (SHU) at Valley State. When I was in the SHU I was continually given the list of things I was to wear so I wouldn't have to wear the large metal chains that were common. wealthiest prison in the world.

"Welcome to Hell" I was particularly glad to demonstrate at Corcoran because I was aware of its record of brutality. Corcoran Prison lies midw^j to the prison system and is the site of one of California's Security Housing Units (SHUs), supermax Security Housing Units within a prison. Prisoners in the SHUs are locked in their cells 23 hours a day.

By 1989, when Corcoran prison first opened and 1995, guards staged fights in the small exercise yard of the SHU. Prisoners were left barefoot and with their remains tossed away and the guard would often play the role of "an-
the daytime-yard at Corcoran. Accidently, as they entered the yard, supervisors from other units in the prison would come to watch the fights. Guards would bet on which prisoner would prevail.

Guards would sit in the tower above the exercise yard at Corcoran armed with gas guns which fire wooden blocks and 9mm rifles that fire bullets that explode in the body on impact. Guards would use the fights that they set up, which almost never produced any serious injuries, as a pretext to fire on the prisoners who were involved. Seven prisoners were killed and 43 were wounded by officers firing assault rifles at Corcoran during these years. One man lost his tooth and a wood block in the mouth. Another lost his eye. One guard, who has spoken out against the gladiator fights, told the Los Angeles Times, "I think they liked shooting the trouble makers. They wanted to bruise each other into submission, as a pretext to fire on the prisoners who were involved."

The policy of using violent criminals in the daytime yard at Corcoran was not merely an exercise in brutality but a means to control the guards. It was a deliberate policy by prison officials. According to the Los Angeles Times, "by forcing such explosive combinations and cultivating an atmosphere of fear, officials believed that the gangs would brutalize each other into submission, according to internal memos and interviews with SHU inmates. The Times quotes a 1989 internal memo from Associate Wardens Gary Lindsay which stated, "The integrated yards [integration here refers to the prison policy of putting members of enemy gangs in the same yard] are doing just what they were intended to do and inmate gang structures are left in confusion." In the same memo Lindsay predicted that prisoners would be shot and killed but didn't see this as a reason to stop the policy.

Another incident at Corcoran that has received attention is the use of inmate enforcers to stop prisoners. Eddie Dillard was a 23-year-old first-time offender. While at Calipatria prison he was accused of knocking a woman guard and ended up in the Corcoran SHU where he was a marked man. A sergeant ordered 120 pound Dillard to be placed in the cell of Wayne Robertson, a 6' 3", 270 pound inmate with the nickname "Booby Bandit." A guard who accompanied Dillard to Robertson's cell told the L.A. Times, "Everyone knew about Robertson. He had raped inmates before and he's raped inmates since. He would tell us, 'If you have any loudmouths or ar^..." The guards would bet on the outcome of these fights. One guard who accompanied Dillard to Robertson's cell told the L.A. Times, "They took something away from me that I can't replace. I've tried so many times to forget about it but the feeling just doesn't go away. Every time I'm with my wife it comes back what he did to me. I want to close the story. I want some salvation. But it keeps going on and on..."

One guard who accompanied Dillard to Robertson's cell and who has since spoken out against the abuses at Corcoran said, "I didn't care if someone got raped or killed by the staff. It was just another day's work."

Other incidents of brutality at Corcoran have also come out:

- November 1989, guards assembled an "extravagant ban" to inspect the cell of Reginald Cooke, who had allegedly spit on a guard and exposed himself to a female guard. After Cooke was beaten and shackled he was carried to the unit's laundry. More than 20 guards watched as a lieutenant ordered Cooke's pants lowered and delivered a jolt to his genitals with a stun gun.

- One scene of a gladiator fight was a ritual called "greet the bus." A team of 10 guards would surround a prisoner arriving at Corcoran from another prison, don gloves, place tape over their name tags and beat the arriving prisoners. According to one guard, "We'd place them in a chin hold and tell them to look skyward, and my Enoch to the left or right was reason to take them down. Whatever force was necessary we used. All the while we're yelling at them: 'Welcome to the Corcoran SHU! This is a hands-on institution. You're in our house now. Whatever your life in prison was before it's over. Welcome to hell!""

In one incident inmates arriving at Corcoran were forced to stand barefoot on scorching asphalt until they collapsed from the heat. One prisoner had no bottoms of his feet left. The guards told the inmate that his injuries had occurred while prisoners were playing handball.

There is a 10 cell unit in the Corcoran SHU for those with physical disabilities that is supposed to be equipped in accordance with the Americans with Disability Act. An article by Doctor Wayne Weimer of California Prison Focus on an April 1997 visit to Corcoran sums up the conditions in the "ADA SHU."

"This middle aged man is a quadriplegic as a result of strokes. He has partial use of his right arm and right thumb. He must crawl on the floor of his cell, eat with his mouth, and is unable to use the toilet or his bed. He lives in his own excrement. Staff provide him large open bed... who have spoken out against the abuses. The guards abuse him. He injured himself when guards forced him to give himself a haircut with electric clippers. When he got angry about that two guards whipped him out of his wheel chair and beat him before throwing him back in his cell."

Despite these things becoming exposed, the brutality at Corcoran continues. According to the Los Angeles Times, "Rather than taking heed from the discipline of the few guards fired for murder and mayhem, the staff latch onto the prisoners saying the new abuses are in retaliation for the demotions and firings."

The article documents more brutal "greet the bus" incidents, continuing setup fights and the murders at Corcoran, and the cover-up of the brutality at Corcoran.

Cover-up and Indictments
The barbaric abuses at Corcoran came to light because of actions by prisoners who spoke out despite retaliation by guards, prison rights activists on the outside, attorneys representing prisoners, and the families of prisoners killed by the guards.

The Los Angeles Times reports on a few guards who have spoken out against the abuses. Every step of the way the prison authorities and the state officials have sought to cover up the brutality at Corcoran.

It took seven years and seven deaths for the state to finally open an investigation into the killings. The corrections officer who supervised the investigating team that revealed that the governor's office and the prison guard's union subverted the investigation of the union and the governor's office. The investigation was done, Jim Connor, the corrections agent who supervised the team told the L.A. Times, "We would try and question a witness and the union was there blocking us. The union even told us there were reluctance to tell us about..."

In our house now. Whatever your life in prison was before it's over. Welcome to hell!"

"One scene of the video Maximum Security University showing 2 prisoners in a "gladiator fight" against prison guards."
Thoughts on Reading Making the Second Ghetto

The Revolutionary Worker received the following correspondence from a reader in Chicago:

"Locked in a desperate struggle for survival, the city's large institutions used their combined economic resources and political influence to produce a redlining and urban renewal program designed to guarantee their continued prosperity. "

"Everywhere neighborhoods were torn down and their inhabitants shunted off to other quarters and the land upon which the old stood was used for middle-class housing and institutional expansion."

The reader, who also engaged in "Checkered Boarding—the movement of relocatees from east to home to another as though they were checkers or chessmen—when a single family remained in a building scheduled for demolition," was impressed with the book's account of the Second Ghetto:

"These quotes sound like a description from 1998. Every word here rings with truth about the struggle today facing the people of Chicago's public housing—the teeth-and-nail battles that they (and their allies) are engaged in with the Chicago Housing Authority, the federal agency for Housing and Urban Development, the city government of Chicago and the real estate developers.

Yet the observations I have just quoted were taken from a book called Making the Second Ghetto, Race and Housing in Chicago 1940-1960 by Arnold R. Hirsch. The ghettoization of Black people in Chicago went through two previous stages and it is chilling how much about these earlier events is interchangeable with the battles people are fighting today.

Chicago has been a pioneer in housing experiments and policies aimed at containing and controlling the masses of Black people. In the past, the plans to create large-scale public housing in Chicago became models for national housing policies. And now, the Chicago plans to destroy public housing are being promoted as a model for the rest of the country as well.

I have been involved in the battle against the government's drive to "end public housing as we know it" for the last seven years. Every day we learn something new about the maneuvers, lies, false promises, threats and tricks that are used to divide the people—about the underhanded deals and cold blooded police murder which have framed the lives of the people fighting to stay in public housing.

Reading this excellent book Making the Second Ghetto caused me to take a fresh look at the way that in the rest of the country are warehousing for all and at the same time Chicago has played a role in the fight for the victims of the government.

I am writing this article for the Revolutionary Worker to share some of the history revealed by this book. I want to pull people's coats to the conclusions I drew and encourage people to look at the book themselves—all as part of preparing to struggle even harder against an enemy whose interests are entirely opposed to the interests of the people.

Frontlines in a Difficult Struggle

During the 1940s, some very courageous people have protested and resisted the physical dislocation, evicting and demolishing of the housing projects which have been their homes and community for years. The battle is not only to get rid of that fact that—no matter how the Chicago Housing Authority has allowed those buildings to become—"they are part of a dwindling supply of housing that is affordable to poor people."

Some victories have been won. Mike Francis Johnson and his family in Homer Homes have inspired many by standing strong in the face of eviction—a fight which continues today. A lot of people have risked everything to defy police sweeps through their buildings, beatings and jailings of countless youth, point-blank shootouts (for example, 26-year-old Shazam Royal in March 1977) and even killings (like that of 24-year-old Michael Hassell in April 1985). Young revolutionary activists have worked hand in hand with the people of these projects, working to rally allies to this cause, and themselves facing arrest and threats.

Collective forms for living and resisting have been developed, like the "Fix 'Em Up, Don't Tear Them Down" in 500/502 Oak Street in the Cabrini-Green complex—where people put the slogan "Fix 'Em Up, Don't Tear Them Down" into practice. Residents shoveled, mopped, cleaned and painted together—through ice floods, heat or winter storms, and weeks of no garbage collection. They managed to keep the structures living and functioning for many months longer than the powers-that-be planned.

Young men, who the authorities dismiss as "gangbangers," have stood their ground in icy floods in Chicago winter weather, fighting to cap frozen bilge surging from aged toilets. Mothers have banded together to protect their children as buildings have been forcibly emptied rending them dark, dangerous caverns for the remaining families.

And yet, so far, all the buildings under the gun from CHA/HUD have eventually been closed, and have either been demolished or closed for demolition. And the people in several buildings have eventually been driven out. Such residents have often been forced throughout the city, making it harder to band together to fight. While some have gained replacement housing in the same areas, the buildings are flimsy and come with extremely expensive utility costs.

The struggle over people's homes remains very much alive. But at times, it feels like the forces of resistance are standing on a railroad track with a train bearing down, and in spite of every effort, the train keeps coming.

After reading Making the Second Ghetto, I know three things very clearly:

First: We should not be surprised by a single dirty trick, maneuver or under-the-table deal the CHA/HUD or the Chicago city government attempt. They have done them all before in one form or another. This is a way of life for them. They have been developing their techniques year after year. We should be curious at their total disdain for the poor and especially Black people—at the way they view human beings as just checkers or pieces on their board. But not surprised. As the revolutionary leader Mao Tsetung said: We must eat away illusions, prepare for struggle.

Second: Public housing policy is not meant to "help the poor." It has always been designed to strengthen the system's social and political control over the people. In Chicago, Black people, in particular, were forced from one ghetto to another—all according to the needs of profit and wishes of the Captains of Capital—the ruling class, federal, state or local.

And third: Violence has been the middle of every change in the lives of the people, and in particular any change in housing patterns of Black people, including public housing.

Arnold R. Hirsch wrote Making the Second Ghetto as a dissertation at the University of Illinois at Chicago in the early 80s and republished it with a new forward in 1998. He has real sympathy for the people whose lives are at the center of this story. And yet, I should be clear, he does not draw the same conclusions I do. He does not see the repeated ghettoization of Black people as the product of a system, which by its very nature, requires the repression and exploitation of Black people. However, his book has given me valuable insights into the workings of his system.

Making of the First Ghetto

In the twentieth century, Black people poured out of the former plantation areas of the Deep South—six million passed through a harrowing transition from rural sharecroppers to urban proletariat. The railroad that ran straight north by the Mississippi Delta carried hundreds of thousands to Chicago, carrying cardboard suitcases filled with dreams.

This history of the Black migration from the South was tumultuous. And what the people found "up North" was far different than the opportunities they dreamed of. Their experience has been marked by the history of housing in Chicago—where people live, or are allowed to live, determines much about the rest of their lives. It affects the education their children get, and the work they are able to find.

Under capitalism, housing does not exist simply to provide human beings shelter—but it is a means to accumulate wealth and control the people. Interwoven through this picture are two continuing threads—the wealth accumulated and wielded by the rich (especially land developers), and the deep involvement of every level of government in carrying out the strategies of the developers, using law, policy and violence. In short, this is a story about the workings of capitalism—and the ruling class's methods of enforcement and repression.

Black people poured out of the South in two great waves that accompanied the two world wars of the twentieth century. When wars cut off immigration and the creation of large armies caused a labor shortage, Black people were driven, by capitalism, from the fields of the South into the factories of urban areas.

This Great Migration was a complicated push and pull of many factors. In the deterioration and mechanization of the rural economy caused a forced removal from plantation in some areas, and violent attempts to keep Black folks on the plantations in other areas. Dreams of freedom in the North were spelled out by the Chicago Defender newspaper and others—and thousands of Black people were driven by the powerful lure of wages and life out of Jim Crow north of the Mason-Dixon line. In Chicago alone, the numbers speak volumes. By 1920 Chicago's Black population was already 109,458. By 1940 and 1960, it grew from 277,731 to 812,637—one of the largest concentrations of African American people in North America.

But the Jim Crow south didn't mean an end to segregation. Black people were tightly confined into specific communities—at first, just a narrow silver band called "the Black Belt" on Chicago's Southside. As the hundreds of thousands arrived by train at the Union Station seeking a new life, they were forced to move onto these same few streets—producing some of the most intense and horrific overcrowding in median
the System o-ized People in Chicago

History.

Housing deteriorated even while high rents extracted fortunes out of people who had no freedom to move. Real estate speculators and absentee landlords made killings by dividing up buildings and large apartments into many small "kitchenets," some separated by no more than cardboard. Many units lacked plumbing. Often many families had to share one bathroom. The movie "Raintree County" shaperly depicts these conditions. Many people were forced to squat for shelter, but they were not the only ones to face the "Windy City's" famous "Hawk" without heat.

Disease was widespread. The infant death rate was 16 percent higher in the black community than for the city as a whole. Rats infested the ghetto like a plague. 29 tons of the rodents were killed in 1940; the first year any control effort was made. There was constant threat of fire in the ramshackle and crowded buildings. Many started accidentally, as people were forced to use dangerous methods of heating and cooking. But (then as now) some fires were deliberately set. One landlord was shot by a tenant after he set fire to his apartment as a means of eviction. The tenant's four children perished in the building as a means of eviction. The waves of "race riots," starting with one in 1919—racists rampaged through the Southside and the downtown Loop, burning and killing Blacks. Black people defended themselves. To all, 15 people were killed and 537 injured—and borders divided up the city had been marked by blood. During the 40s and 50s, thousands of white people, including many new immigrants who had just graduated to their first non-slum housing, were organized into racist networks that attacked Black people.

By manipulating all the factors, the speculators raised prices for Black home owners with markups from 35 to 115 percent. Also the speculator usually retained title to the house, so that if the new home owners couldn't make their payments, the house reverted to "thief with a pen." Something had to give.

Black people, quite simply, started pushing out of their established communities into surrounding areas—in the face of great threat and violence. And war-time conditions broke out. The search for decent, affordable housing brought Black people into direct conflict with real estate speculators, downtown banks, developers, and networks of racists, all organized (or at least backed) by Chicago's notorious Democratic "party political machine."

As the borders of the city's expanding "black Belt" approached a previously-white community, a "stagnant" period would set in. "Rents and purchase prices were lowered in a futile attempt to attract Black people influenced by racist thinking to the suburbs and the beginnings of the Westside community.

The Black communities of Chicago, 1940—the Southside and the beginnings of the Westside community.

The Depression of the 1930s brought a sharp decline in Chicago's housing industry. "Not only was there little construction during the 1930s, but the city began a demolition program in 1934 that destroyed 21,000 substandard housing units; that's one-third of the demolition occurred in black areas. Even the steps taken to relieve the poor housing conditions of the black population were hardly unmitigated blessings. The construction of the Ida B. Wells public housing project destroyed nearly as many apartments as it supplied. When the project finally opened in 1941, 17,544 applications were received for its 1,562 units (MSG, p. 31)." Something had to give.

As the borders of the city's expanding "black Belt" approached a previously-white community, a "stagnant" period would set in. "Rents and purchase prices were lowered in a futile attempt to attract Black people influenced by racist thinking to the suburbs and the beginnings of the Westside community."

This process was repeated "decade by decade the housing got more starkly segregated. "From May 1944 through July 1946, forty-six black residents were burned to death in Chicago's history of racial savagery used to prevent the free movement of Black people."

Chicago's history (like the history of many American cities) is riddled with "race riots," starting with one in 1919—racists rampaged through the Southside and the downtown Loop, burning and killing Blacks. Black people defended themselves. To all, 15 people were killed and 537 injured—and borders dividing up the city had been marked by blood. During the 40s and 50s, thousands of white people, including many new immigrants who had just graduated to their first non-slum housing, were organized into racist networks that attacked Black people. All through this period there was an intense battle over where Black people would be allowed to live and socialize. Many attacks took place at public facilities and beaches along the lakefront, which were traditionally considered "whites only.

At the fringes of Chicago's Black areas, brutal attacks took place all year round, especially in the spring and fall when houses traditionally changed. "From May 1944 through July 1946, forty-six black residents-

Violence is as American as Apple Pie

Many fairy tales have been spun about the might of the pen, but in reality, behind every successful pen lies the might of the sword. To fully understand the dynamics of this process, we have to look at the systematic savagery used to prevent the free movement of Black people. Chicago's history (like the history of many American cities) is riddled with "race riots," starting with one in 1919—racists rampaged through the Southside and the downtown Loop, burning and killing Blacks. Black people defended themselves. To all, 15 people were killed and 537 injured—and borders dividing up the city had been marked by blood. During the 40s and 50s, thousands of white people, including many new immigrants who had just graduated to their first non-slum housing, were organized into racist networks that attacked Black people. All through this period there was an intense battle over where Black people would be allowed to live and socialize. Many attacks took place at public facilities and beaches along the lakefront, which were traditionally considered "whites only.

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The Black communities of Chicago, 1940—the Southside and the beginnings of the Westside community.

Public housing projects in Chicago, heavily concentrated in the traditionally Black communities.

Federal government intervention in the form of public housing projects was the first non-black opposition to the systematic savagery used to prevent the free movement of Black people. Chicago's history (like the history of many American cities) is riddled with "race riots," starting with one in 1919—racists rampaged through the Southside and the downtown Loop, burning and killing Blacks. Black people defended themselves. To all, 15 people were killed and 537 injured—and borders dividing up the city had been marked by blood. During the 40s and 50s, thousands of white people, including many new immigrants who had just graduated to their first non-slum housing, were organized into racist networks that attacked Black people. All through this period there was an intense battle over where Black people would be allowed to live and socialize. Many attacks took place at public facilities and beaches along the lakefront, which were traditionally considered "whites only.

At the fringes of Chicago's Black areas, brutal attacks took place all year round, especially in the spring and fall when houses traditionally changed. "From May 1944 through July 1946, forty-six black residents-

RCP chairman Bob Avakian once sketched this process in an article called "Forced Segregation: A Neighborhood Story.." The place became a dump, and then Black people, and others who were previously kept out, were brought into the neighborhood, or allowed to come in there. It was systematically turned into a dump, not by the new residents but by the banks, insurance companies, real estate concerns, and others who speculated in land and housing, along with the government. The new residents not only weren't the cause of this, but they were not able, not allowed, to do anything about it. (00:49:25, also available on RV Online). By manipulating all the factors, the speculators raised prices for Black home owners with markups from 35 to 115 percent. Also the speculator usually retained title to the house, so that if the new home owners couldn't make their payments, the house reverted to "thief with a pen."

The Black communities of Chicago, 1940—the Southside and the beginnings of the Westside community.

Public housing projects in Chicago, heavily concentrated in the traditionally Black communities.
Chicago Youth Battle Eviction at Historic House

Chicago
Continued from page 9

cases were assaulted (nine were attacked from place to temporary place, and some families were broken up to form smaller groups that would fit into limited space. It required new projects to be racially integrated "worses only." They worked intensely among various local attempts to house poor Blacks who were to be removed from areas targeted for redevelopment. They worked to prevent the off-produced expansion of the "Second Ghetto." (TO BE CONTINUED)
Putting An End to 'Sin'

by Bob Avakian

"From whatever vantage point one looks, it is unmistakable that there is what could be called 'a moral crisis in America.' There has been, to a significant degree, 'a breakdown of traditional morality.' But the answer to this—at least the answer that is in the interests of the majority of people in the U.S. and the overwhelming majority of humanity—is not a more aggressive assertion of that 'traditional morality' but winning people to a radically different morality, in the process of and as a key part of radically transforming society and the world as a whole. It is not the tightening but the shattering of tradition's chains that is called for."

In light of the power struggle around the impeachment of Clinton, the 1996 essays by Bob Avakian on the 'crisis of morality' in U.S. society are both timely and insightful. These important essays include: "Preaching From a Pulpit of Bones: The Reality Beneath William Bennett's 'Virtues,' Or We Need Morality, But Not Traditional Morality" and "Putting An End to 'Sin' Or We Need Morality, But Not Traditional, Morality (Part 2)." In the following excerpt from "Putting An End to 'Sin," he discusses communist morality.

Other selections from Avakian's essays will follow in future issues and the entire series will soon be available on our website at www.mcs.net/~rwo.

Communist principles include, as decisive aspects, the basis of overcoming all inequality between men and women and between different peoples and nations. The communist viewpoint and methodology makes clear that the oppression of women is inextricably bound up with the division of society into classes and all the exploitation and oppression that has accompanied this for thousands of years, and that the abolition of this exploitation and oppression of class distinctions themselves is inextricably bound up with the emancipation of women. In other words, the emancipation of women is a vital part of the "4 Alls,"* and all aspects of sexual and family relations must be evaluated essentially in terms of how they relate to this emancipation.

Communist morality supports those things that uphold imperialist domination and inequality between nations—including discrimination against the languages and cultures of oppressed nations and minority nationalities and all chauvinist notions of the superiority of one people or nation over others—and communist morality supports those things that foster unity between the masses of people of all nationalities, on the basis of the fight for equality between nations, the right of self-determination and the liberation of oppressed nations.

Both the examination of particular social questions and the discussion of general principles illustrate that communist morality does have both a definite basis and concrete application in the world in this era. As Engels explained, for the first time in history, the development of human society—with its foundation in the material forces of production—has reached the point where, for humanity as a whole (as opposed to relatively small and isolated groups of people in previous epochs), there is the basis for people to relate to each other, and to meet their material and cultural needs, on an increasingly ascending level without the division of society into different classes and without oppression and social antagonism. And that is not all: Engels went further to show that not only is the division of society into different classes and the monopolization of wealth and power and of intellectual life by a small handful no longer necessary, but such division and monopolization has now become "economically, politically, intellectually, a kind of development..."
The Dalai C.I.A. Lama

The organization of the Dalai Lama issued a statement on October 1 admitting that it received millions of dollars from the U.S. intelligence services. The statement claims that he used his CIA salary to finance his work in Tibet, and to support his Dalai Lama's own organization, which is recognized by the United Nations as the legitimate representative of the Tibetan people. The statement also revealed that the Dalai Lama did not personally end the revolt started by the Tibetan contra unit.

The RW series "The True Story of Revolution in Tibet" documents the events at Corcoran. Of the 31 fatal or non-fatal shootings, no one outside the prison has been confirmed in any of these shootings, no one outside the prison has been confirmed in any of these shootings. Of the 31 fatal or non-fatal shootings, no one outside the prison has been confirmed in any of these shootings. Of the 31 fatal or non-fatal shootings, no one outside the prison has been confirmed in any of these shootings. Of the 31 fatal or non-fatal shootings, no one outside the prison has been confirmed in any of these shootings.

On the Road to Corcoran

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L.A. Times The investigations gathered more than 1,000 pages of information on the whistle-blowers. In fact, the investigations ended up investigating and disciplining only one officer involved in a shooting at Corcoran. Richard Caruso, one of the whistle-blowers, was fired 90 days pay for firing wood blocks at a prisoner in 1993, a shooting that resulted in no injuries. Caruso told the L.A. Times, "I think it says a lot that out of 7,000 shootings (of wood blocks or bullets) they investigate just one more. After going forward and facing my career as a correctional officer the state launches an investigation and comes after me."

The officers who spoke out against their fellow guards at Corcoran have faced vindication and death threats which have been ignored by prison authorities. Lt. Marilyn Sanborn, a guard who spoke out, told a state panel, "I am a whistle-blower and I'm not sorry for the action I took. I am so sorry that I put my family through the horrors of the reprisals and harassment we have been subjected to. My career came to an abrupt end. I am sorry I have been threatened with death or harm. I am sorry that my wife is frightened to sleep in our home at night and often sleeps on the bathroom floor because of an anonymous letter."

Reprisals and outrages against the conditions at Corcoran have forced charges to be filed against sixteen guards. However it is clear that powerful forces in the state are determined to stop any efforts to change the conditions.

In February, eight officers were indicted by a federal grand jury on charges of racketeering and conspiracy at Corcoran. The head of the state Department of Correction, George Caruso, has conceded that he will spend more than one million dollars in state funds to defend the eight guards. Terence stated to not find the guards would have "shook the whole foundation of our correctional system." He has also put six of the eight accused guards back to work. The other two guards took an early retirement and are now receiving a pension from the state.

In September, a judge overturned a disciplinary case against guards who beat prisoners coming off a bus from Calipass prison in 1995. The judge ordered the guards reinstated and that they be given back pay. Five guards have also been indicted on charges related to the rape of Eddie Dillard. And the California Legislature has recently concluded a series of hearings into the abuses at Corcoran. During the hearings former Corcoran Warden George Smith, who rode over Corcoran during most of the prisoner deaths, and who has likewise found guards at Corcoran to be guilty, took the fifth amendment, refusing to answer questions that might have implicated him.

On November 25, a panel commissioned last summer released a report after examining events at Corcoran. Of the 31 fatal or non-fatal shootings that were occurred at the prison from 1989 to 1995, 24 were found to involve the unjustified use of deadly force.

The panel found that when it came to questionable shootings, no one outside the prison system scrutinizes them and "no one is required to render a decision concerning the legality of a shooting." "They're railroading everyday citizens and it's that you want to get the point across that we don't have to live this way," I talked with a woman whose brother was in Corcoran. He had been shut three times by the San Francisco Police but he was the one who was doing the living. She told me how he had done everything he was supposed to—he graduated college, he got a good job, he had never been arrested or even gotten a parking citation. Then he was radiated by the center and cops. She told me how he arrived at Corcoran he had to stop at a corner floor for months. They're radiating everyday citizens and it has to stop, she told me. "It's time for a change...I'm willing to do whatever it takes." Bill Tate's son Preston was shot and killed by guards in one of the staged blindness shooting at Corcoran. After four years federal authorities have indict eight guards involved in the shooting.

The Dalai Lama in exile. The Dalai Lama has been able to continue his work because the Chinese government has allowed him to travel freely. There have been hundreds of demonstrations around the world in support of the Dalai Lama's cause. In other words: they admit that the Dalai Lama was a paid CIA agent, but deny he was a corrupt CIA agent.

The statement claims that he used his CIA salary to finance his work in Tibet, and to support his Dalai Lama's own organization, which is recognized by the United Nations as the legitimate representative of the Tibetan people. The statement also revealed that the Dalai Lama did not personally end the revolt started by the Tibetan contra unit.

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The San Francisco Police Execution of John Smart

John Smart was a 46-year-old advertising agency executive in San Francisco. He worked for a well-known corporation and was known for his charm and good looks. However, his life was cut short on October 6, 1998, when he was shot and killed by police officers.

The police claim that John Smart was a danger to society and that his death was justified. However, many people believe that the police had no right to take his life. The case has sparked a debate about police brutality and the use of deadly force in law enforcement.

Epidemic of Police Shootings

In recent years, there has been an epidemic of police shootings in San Francisco. The police have shot and killed over 50 people in the city since 1990, including John Smart. Many of these shootings have been controversial and have led to protests and demands for accountability.

Police Justifications and People’s Protests

The police have justified their actions by citing the need for self-defense and the preservation of public safety. However, many activists and community members have argued that these justifications are often used to justify excessive force and that the police are too quick to use deadly force.

John Smart’s murder has sparked a debate about police brutality and the use of deadly force in law enforcement. The case has also highlighted the need for more transparency and accountability in the police department.

The article quoted an unidentified law enforcement source as saying, "We can’t afford to lose any more of our people. We have to be able to respond to these situations quickly and decisively."

The family of John Smart and many other activists continue to fight for justice and reform in the police department. The case has brought attention to the issue of police brutality and the need for change in law enforcement practices.


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Persevering in People's War in Nepal

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